

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an O.J. culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [562] [561]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 127

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[435] The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stoncutting area, the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience, stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts, the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders. A six foot length (1 kan linear measure), one foot wide and about ten inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).

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[142] Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

• [561] Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

492 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

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Restoring the Land

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[499] Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters was too elementary. 555
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If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and complaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Matsuda both are operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagano, the present headmen are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public duties, but both places are small. The headman of Minatogawa, a fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties kept him in the village. 556
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Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view and know more. 554
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The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition, there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding, possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organizational ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in the Women's Association. 554
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Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting 554

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
 476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other under-
 takings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neigh-
 bors, and members of the same geographical section of the village
 participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal rela-
 tives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters.
 Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there
 are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one
 house or another.

- 561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described
 in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan
 becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
 575 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for
 653 certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried
 young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both
 a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
 185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
 562 ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to
 "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women
 who are in contact with the district and island* organization. They
 attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
 [262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example,
 they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own
 bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the
 women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one
 work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many
 of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most
 women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are
 easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and
 tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-
 looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization
 similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the
 men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority
 of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's
 Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
 887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
 623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

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as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to care-free diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand-parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grand-mother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand-mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

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Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls. 855 857

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males. A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl. 858 562

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Chapter 17

Latency

By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or 857 561 ●

518 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

- 857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
● 561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which
younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

- 857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
857 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
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[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.

- 866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full-
[775] fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. 2162
Jūshimō is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. 252
chamuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soy sauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'.
 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is 273
 sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength
 flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from [23]
 making 'awamori', called kashiiji, was very cheap---about two gallons could be [57]
 had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also furnished the base for kachijs-ši, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration 262
 known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of 574
 whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring [56]
 of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

- Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
- Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
- Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
- Several slices of fried bean curd
- Fish cake
- Deep-fried sugar batter
- A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
- Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
- Red rice; noodle soup
- Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

- Two pieces of pork
- 1 piece fried bean curd
- Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
- 1 piece of pork heart
- Two pieces of fish cake
- A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
- Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
- Two pieces of sweet pound cake
- Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
- Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
- One deep-fried flour dumpling
- Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

855 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be re-
 861 stated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported¹ that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt"
 181 that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese.
 171 Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they
 861 fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".² Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan *bachi nu ataeing*, Japanese '*bachi ga ataru*') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both,
 524 if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's
 [20] magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-
 [77] yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

• [56] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

832 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fif-
 178 teenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (*niisee*, in J. '*seinen*', literally "green years"). There was
 [88] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite.
 [77] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be-
 877 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is
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¹ Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

² Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
 592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
 [546] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the
 individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
 [545] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
 [178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class dif-
 ferentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of
 any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the fami-
 lies were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
 829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
 592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
 666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of
 representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one
 village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elec-
 tions, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more
 votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of
 Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
 [592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed
 by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of
 political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A
 number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group
 since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others
 who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the
 basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
 554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatri-
 ates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are
 not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsis-
 tence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the de-
 mands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs
 which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to
 devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with
 the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who other-
 wise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers
 vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example
 for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time
 drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the
 total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria
 which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group,
 which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village
 leadership and forms the core of the body politic.